

Neighborhood Planning for Community Revitalization

St. Anthony East the History of a Community

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**St. Anthony East
the History of a Community**

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Introduction

Many stories of Minneapolis begin with the history of a city called St. Anthony. St. Anthony was Minneapolis' senior by seventeen years. By the time Minneapolis was formed and incorporated as a city, St. Anthony was an old hand at self government. A reduction of the Fort Snelling military reservation in 1852 opened land for settlement west of the Mississippi River. This area soon became a thriving community due to the water power provided by the Falls of St. Anthony. It would soon become the city of Minneapolis. Minneapolis, which was incorporated in 1867, quickly surpassed St. Anthony in both commerce and population. Therefore, when the two cities merged in 1872, the joint city was christened Minneapolis rather than St. Anthony.

Many histories continue on from this point with the history of the city of Minneapolis. The focus of recorded history shifts from the east bank of the Mississippi to the west. Although most historiography does include the area formerly known as St. Anthony, it does not truly do justice to area's rich and fascinating history. The heart of the city of Minneapolis lay across the Mississippi River from St. Anthony. Those histories take up the story of of the city—the political entity, but this history is the story of a place.

This is the story of a blue-collar neighborhood where ties to the past are still strong. Although there is far more written discussion of the history of Minneapolis, St. Anthony East has a different sort of historiography. In this neighborhood, history is somehow more tangible than the written record. It is at once

visible in dozens of old homes and churches, and audible in the remnants of old languages. Many neighborhood residents know what the area once looked like because their families have lived there for generations. "The area retains a large degree of ethnic flavor to the present" (Stipanovich 244). Because St. Anthony East is an area of such continuity, history is never far from the heart. For many residents, the area's history is as simple as remembering mom and dad, or grandma and grandpa and the stories they used to tell.

Old St. Anthony

St. Anthony began with the waterfall. The waterfall was discovered by Father Louis Hennepin who christened it the Falls of St. Anthony. St. Anthony was named for these falls, and rightfully so, for the waterfall was the true founder of the city. In the late 1830s, two treaties opened a triangle of land between the St. Croix and Mississippi Rivers for settlement. In 1848, Franklin Steele purchased the land east of the Mississippi River that was soon to become the city of St. Anthony. This purchase gave him control of the water power East of the river. Here he constructed the first commercial mill at the Falls of St. Anthony with the help of a millwright from Maine named Ard Godfrey. Thus began the reputation of Minneapolis as the "Mill City" and the long tradition of industry in Northeast Minneapolis.

The people of St. Anthony convinced the state legislature to incorporate their little village as a city, and they received their town charter in 1855. St. Anthony's leaders dreamed that the city would become the great metropolis of the Northwest (Special Collections A). With St. Paul as their only rival, the residents of St. Anthony were more than hopeful that this dream would come true. Because the initial economic success of St. Anthony depended upon Franklin Steele and a few of his associates, the city was on uncertain grounds. When Steele began to have difficulties, the city's milling industry and its population was surpassed by Minneapolis, the upstart city across the river that had been incorporated in 1867 (Stipanovich 62). Just a few years later in 1872, the two cities decided to merge and St. Anthony, by

now the smaller of the two, lost its name.

The name was not lost completely, for two of the neighborhoods of Northeast, a park, the falls, and a suburb retain the name St. Anthony. St. Anthony East is a neighborhood where the old city of St. Anthony is remembered quite well. Residents take pride in living in the oldest, and to them the best, part of the city. The neighborhood is named for the old city, and it has more in common with it than simply the name.

Northeast Minneapolis was divided into thirteen neighborhoods during Urban Renewal. Prior to this the area was one large community. There were no boundary lines between neighborhoods. If a concern or issue came up, it was addressed by the entire community (Partyka). So, actually the history of St. Anthony East is merged with St. Anthony West, Logan, Beltrami, Marcy Holmes, Nicollet Island - all the adjoining neighborhoods from Johnson Street N.E. to the river. Because of this, the discussion will at times focus on the big neighborhood rather than only St. Anthony East.

Bars

The first mayor of St. Anthony was elected with the support of the local taverns. Residents of the city feared that this would bring about a relaxed policy in dealings between the city government and the taverns. Each night, loud voices and drunken brawls spilled out of the taverns and onto the city streets. The people of St. Anthony felt that this must be kept in check, and soon a police force was created to ensure that things would not get out of hand.

The prominence of the corner bar in the city's early history was the beginning of another long standing tradition of the community. Neighborhood bars still dot the landscape of Northeast Minneapolis today, and St. Anthony East is no exception. Even in this small neighborhood, there are several bars. The *Moose on Monroe* and the *Spring Street Bar and Grill* face each other across Monroe Street at the corner of Monroe and Spring. Not far away on Central Avenue is the notoriously noisy *King of Clubs*. While *My Place on Broadway*, nestled cozily among the houses, appears to be the epitome of the tiny local bar.

Things haven't changed much on the political front concerning the bars either. In a recent survey taken to detail resident needs and desires, many residents cited bars as problem. The bars produce too much noise, and there are far too many for such a small neighborhood, some residents claim. The problem is not simply the number, but the fact that the bars are neighborhood bars. They are situated next door to houses. The survey shows that residents are tired of bar patrons parking in front of their

homes late at night. They all too often find beer bottles tossed in the streets and on sidewalks. Many residents would also prefer that the taverns have a more family-oriented attitude (1996 SAENA-NRP Survey).

Churches

The churches that the residents of St. Anthony East attend are as numerous as the bars. Northeast is famous for its churches—really famous, one block with four churches is listed in the Guinness Book of World Records. The explanation for this abundance of places of worship lies in the area's history of immigration. As the most industrialized area of the city, Northeast Minneapolis provided much unskilled labor. Immigrants could find employment in one of the areas many small factories, the flour mills, the railroad lines or the lumberyards (Wolniewicz 3).

The earliest settlers of the region were French, German and Scandinavian. Later came immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. In the 1880s people from the Carpathian Mountain region, which is now Eastern Czechoslovakia settled, and in the 1900s came Poles, Bohemians, Hungarians and Austrians. The area retained much of this ethnic flavor for quite some time, and still has a bit of it today. Each ethnic group brought their own particular customs. They also brought their own style of worship, not just their own religion. When speaking to residents of Northeast, take care not to confuse the Russian Orthodox Church with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The Roman Catholic churches are even more numerous, for the French, German, Polish and Italian immigrants all had separate churches.

As immigrants moved into the area, they settled in neighborhoods around their churches with people who shared their ethnicity and their language. Churches kept groups of immigrants

together; religion was a stronghold of familiarity in a new land. "Churches were vital to them as they helped build a sense of identity, constituted a source of help, and offered a means toward incorporation into American life" (Schreck 9). The neighborhoods in which people lived defined their social group, and churches had a key role in this.

The many churches of the area came into conflict with the many bars of the area. This was not only a question of morality, but of ethnicity. The churches kept the ethnic groups alive, but the taverns brought people from every group together. When men became drinking buddies, ethnic barriers broke down (Hage 76). Many of the churches established schools to provide religious education and to maintain ethnic groups and customs.

The churches of Northeast Minneapolis have fascinating histories. House of Faith Presbyterian, which is located within the boundaries of St. Anthony East, occupies its original location. The original structure was built in 1887 and dedicated in 1889 at 668 Broadway Street. When it was built it was known as "the lighthouse on the corner" (Special Collections A). Today the church maintains a billboard, the income of which sponsors a tiny "tot park" for children.

St. Anthony of Padua was the first church to be built within the city limits of St. Anthony. The land was donated by Pierre Bottineau, an early French-Canadian Settler and the local agent for the American Fur Trading Company. He had also done some real estate speculation, and he owned considerable portions of Northeast Minneapolis (Stipanovich 216). Construction began in 1849, but after the foundation had been laid, the congregation

had insufficient funds to complete a stone church. So a frame structure was completed. A school was opened in a rented store in 1853, and two years later a boarding school was constructed. Other parochial schools included All Saints and De La Salle.

All Saints Catholic Church was the Catholic church for the Polish population of the neighborhood. The church which stands today was built in 1938. St. Boniface was the German Parish. It was founded in 1858. The current structure was constructed in 1929. Our Lady of Mount Caramel was the church of the Italians. Our Lady of Lourdes is the oldest existing church structure in Minneapolis.

Elim Baptist Church was the Swedish church. The archives of the church include the original signboard which reads (in Swedish) "Elim Swedish Baptist Church." This plaque was discovered beneath the sanctuary floor during renovations in 1981. The Lebanese church was St. Maron's. This church was begun when a small group of Lebanese Maronites purchased a residence on Main street for a place of worship in 1903. By 1919, a new church was needed due to the continuous stream of immigrants to the area. The parish moved several times before they came to rest at their present location.

This is not a comprehensive list of the churches of Northeast; there are many others such as Emmanuel Lutheran, St. Mary's Russian Orthodox Catholic Church and St. Charles Barromeo to name a few. Even when people do move out of this neighborhood, they often return on Sunday for services (Hage 74).

Logan Park

Another place where the people of St. Anthony East come together is Logan Park. Although the park is outside of St. Anthony East proper, it has a special place in the hearts of the area residents. St. Anthony Park, which is within the neighborhood boundaries, was not established until after Urban Renewal in the 1960s. Therefore, Logan Park, just across Broadway Street from St. Anthony East, was the community's park.

The park was established in 1883 when ten acres of land was acquired by the Board of Park Commissioners (Wirth 39). Originally called First Ward Park, it is one of the city's oldest parks. In 1893, it was renamed for General John A. Logan. In the late 1800s, Logan Park was a decorative city square. It had neat grass plots and flower beds with an occasional bench and a large Victorian fountain in the center (Harrison 5). It was not the recreation center that it is today, although in the winter of 1884 and 1885, an ice skating rink was maintained for the area residents(221), and in 1925 the first ice carnival was held in Logan Park .

In 1906, the first playground equipment was installed in Logan Park (246). It was not long before a portable band wagon was built for park concerts all over Minneapolis (270). In 1912 the Logan Park field house was constructed. This field house was used as community center as well as a place for recreation. The Red Cross used the facility as a center for the first community-based program (262). The field house boasted a dance floor, a grand piano, basketball courts, dumbbells and vaulting apparatus.

The dance floor was booked two months in advance for dances, and ten highly organized boys sports clubs kept the sporting facilities busy. The field house also contained a branch of the public library (Special Collections B).

During World War I, "community singing" became a popular pastime at "gatherings assembled for the winning of the war." This practice continued due to popular demand, and by 1919, it had become a regular feature of park band concerts. In that same year, a stationary bandstand was built. From 1920-1924, the *Daily News* presented a banner to the neighborhood park that secured the highest number of points at community sings. Points were awarded for attendance and enthusiasm. In 1920, Logan park tied with Riverside, but Riverside took the banner in the final sing-off. Not to be outdone, Logan Park claimed the banner the following year (Wirth 273).

The residents who use Logan Park are not the only ones who are enthusiastic about it. According to a clipping in the Minneapolis Public Library Special Collections Department, "the development of Logan Park in Northeast Minneapolis as a playground and community center is the ideal which the Board of Park Commissioners has as its aim for every Minneapolis park. Logan Park is where the men and women, boys and girls of its part of Minneapolis go on every recreational opportunity" (Special Collections B). Logan park was the center of recreation for the neighborhood; it was a safe place to play and to socialize. Resident Mary Jane Partyka recalls sleeping in the park as a girl on hot summer nights with other neighborhood children (Harrison 14).

The residents of the area felt safe in the park because their neighborhood was so safe. Families settled down for several generations, and this brought stability to the neighborhood. They also felt safe because of the beloved park patrolman, John van Ruden. He was present at all Logan Park events—dinners, dances, concerts, athletic events—for years. John van Ruden's pocket served as a hiding place for the prize-winning egg at the annual Easter egg hunt in 1934 (Special Collections B), and Elizabeth McCabe recalls how she attended concerts all over the city, not only at Logan Park, because John van Ruden was a family friend.

Another person who had a great influence in the park's history is Mrs. Alice Dietz. She was the instructor of Dancing and the organizer of the pageant series at Logan park during the 1920s and 30s. The dancing and pageantry was practiced and performed in Logan park. Pictures from that era show cherubic youngsters in beautiful costumes. In a time before television, these were the activities that kept the area's youth busy. Although the pageants and dancing continued after Mrs. Dietz was no longer organizing the activities, it was never quite the same (Special Collections B).

Logan Park has changed over the years, but it remains a center for community activity. Eventually, the fountain was removed and the base was used as a wading pool. During Urban Renewal, the field house made way for a new community center, which also includes a library in one wing. At this time tennis and basketball courts were added, and a real wading pool was installed. Although the changes in the park are seen as positive, some residents miss the beautiful old field house. Residents

speak of the park as a place where they always felt safe.

At one point a group of residents even tried to have the park renamed "Van Ruden Park" for the park patrolman who kept it safe. The new name could have been an important link to the park's history as well as a tribute to the man who helped make the park such a comfortable and usable space. Mark Kozlak, an area resident who feel that the park's rich history should be emphasized, is raising money to install a grand Victorian fountain at one end of the park, reminiscent of the park's original fountain. The butterfly shaped paths that surrounded this fountain are also to be restored on one end of the park.

East Hennepin Business District

If you speak to residents of St. Anthony East about changes in the neighborhood, many of them will reminisce about the East Hennepin business district. For the neighborhoods nearby, this district was a small downtown. The people of St. Anthony East could supply all of their basic needs within walking distance of their homes. Those who felt it was too far to walk could take the trolley. Until the early 1950s, the streetcar barns themselves were located on East Hennepin.

This area was a bustling shopping center from the 1930s to the 1960s. Everything one could possibly need was contained within a few blocks. On Friday nights, men would crowd the bars waiting for their wives to do the shopping, and people thronged the sidewalks (Olson). East Hennepin Avenue had grocery stores, department stores, drug stores, boutiques, a florist, a theater, a music store and a tea shop (McCabe). The area also had three furniture stores. One of these, Cashway Furniture, is still doing business on the corner of Hennepin and University Avenues. A few other old familiar faces are Surdyks Liquor, which dates back to 1944, and Kramarczuk's Sausage Company and Deli, which has done business on Hennepin Avenue since 1954 (Olson).

Kramarczuk's is a reminder both of the booming business district of days gone by and of the continuing ethnicity of Northeast Minneapolis. Perhaps the newer housing that is now available in St. Anthony East will draw a younger population back into the area and make the business district what it once was. The population of St. Anthony East has steadily grown older.

People like the neighborhood and they stay there. Some of this can be attributed to the immigrant history; having been uprooted once, residents have no desire to go through it again. Even those residents who do move, seem to move to other neighborhoods in Northeast rather than to another part of the city. There are fewer mouths to feed and fewer shirts and shoes to buy with fewer young people and children.

Although business on East Hennepin Avenue has been revitalized to some extent, the type of business has changed. Instead of department and drug stores, East Hennepin has a bagel shop, a coffee shop and a trendy restaurant and wine bar.

Even before the East Hennepin Business District deteriorated, other areas of shops had disappeared. Adams Street once had several businesses along its 700 block. In the 1930s there was a butcher, a National Tea, a hardware store, the Adam Street Garage, a bakery, a drug store, a dry goods store, a plumber and a barber. Nearly everything the people of St. Anthony needed could be found within their own neighborhood (McCabe).

Urban Renewal

Although the neighborhood is predominantly homeowners, college students and young couples are discovering rental opportunities in the area. St. Anthony East is still an older neighborhood, but things have been changing since the 1960s and Urban Renewal. Before this, young people were unable to find decent housing in the area. East Hennepin merchants gave up one by one, and schools were only half-filled with children.

Urban Renewal in St. Anthony East is widely regarded as the most successful renewal effort in Minneapolis (Martin 110), and has often been referred to as the "nationally-known renewal plan that worked" (May). Given the chance to participate in the Urban Renewal plan, this neighborhood organized to make sure things were done right. The people involved in Urban Renewal implementation in St. Anthony East will tell you that it worked because it was a good community effort, and because few neighborhood groups had the positive relationship with the Housing Authority that St. Anthony East had (May).

The ethnicity of an area that had experienced continuous settlement by Eastern European Immigrants since the 1890s and the resultant stability of Northeast prevented it from being designated a slum by most city planners. "The area was a classic working-class landscape with houses, churches, schools, stores bars and factories" (Martin 110). However, much of the aging housing needed substantial improvements, and some of the most dilapidated houses had to be removed altogether. Maintenance on much of the housing in St. Anthony East had been put off for too

long. The result was that housing had become less acceptable to middle-income households. Renewal was necessary to maintain a young population of homeowners, for failing to restore the housing to standards acceptable to the middle-class meant driving them to the suburbs (Martin 111).

In 1972 a Project Action Committee (PAC) was formed by neighborhood residents to prevent low-income high-rise. This was necessary to comply with federal regulations on citizen community petitions. The Members of the PAC were Dan Chartraw, Jenny Erickson, Frank Frazer, Bill McCabe, Jeanette May, Jerry Rocuski and George Sarnaw (May). The PAC successfully deterred the low-income housing and this initial success inspired the group to remain active (Martin 114). The organization had much pride in the project, which grew and branched out into other things (May).

When the housing Authority came to Northeast Minneapolis, according to Jeanette May, the community did not feel as if they had control over what happened in their own neighborhood. When the community took an active role in Urban Renewal they began to feel as if they could "do something about everything." The close involvement gave the neighborhood residents the sense that they had control over their own lives.

To begin with many people were indifferent to Urban Renewal and some were against it altogether. Those involved in the renewal process felt pressure from all sides. This was difficult because so many rumors about the Housing Authority and Urban Renewal programs circulated among Northeast residents (May).

Resident involvement greatly modified the original intentions of the Housing Authority. The usual plan of clearing large areas

was not acceptable to the residents; therefore, everything would be rehabilitated, with minimal spot clearance only when absolutely necessary. Residents received grants and loans to complete construction, alteration or improvement projects (Martin 113). Urban Renewal encompassed the improvement of more than simply housing. Spring Street had five corner bars before Urban Renewal. This street was the old police patrol limits for the city of Minneapolis (May), and was the ideal spot for taverns. After the renewal process, several moved or closed. St. Anthony East also boasts the first subsidized rental housing for the elderly and the physically challenged in the city.

Public improvements reinforced rehabilitation; new streets and curbs complemented the rehabilitated housing. Plumbing, heating, and electricity were brought up to code throughout the entire area (Martin 113). There were also commercial improvements to the area through efforts to improve business. The Nearby East Hennepin Business district was severely deteriorated at the beginning of St. Anthony's renewal. It was one of many old streetcar strips; these were small areas each with similar shops that had sprung up along streetcar lines. When the streetcars were running, people could get off at one of these strips, do their shopping and catch the next car home. Because it was an area planned around streetcar transportation, it did not have enough parking. Businesses also had continuous problems with derelicts from the flop houses on Nicollet Island (Martin 116).

Urban Renewal in St. Anthony East was successful because residents got involved early and stayed involved for the duration of the project. They had a united vision of what Urban Renewal

would do for their neighborhood. Residents expected a physically improved version of their neighborhood. The politics of St. Anthony East were also conducive to the program's success. The aldermen who represented Northeast Minneapolis (Don Risk, Sam Sivanich, Al Hofstede, Dick Miller) were powerful, and St. Anthony has continued to receive city resources that have been made available for improvement (Martin 114-115).

Interstate 335

St. Anthony East has some newer housing that was not constructed during Urban Renewal. Along Third Avenue there are rows of new townhouses. Although the neighborhood has been a mix of old and new housing since Urban Renewal, these townhouses look a bit out of place. Nowhere else in the neighborhood will you find such a concentration of new housing, for no large areas or entire blocks were cleared for renewal. The townhouses are not a direct result of Urban Renewal, however they are not completely unrelated to renewal either. These townhouses stand along the corridor of what was to be a freeway-interstate 335-circling downtown and linking 35W and I-94.

Residents were vehemently opposed to the freeway. According to Jeanette May, people in St. Anthony East had had enough change for a lifetime. They wanted to remain in their homes. The St. Anthony East PAC that had formed during Urban renewal elected to oppose Interstate 335. They knew that the planned freeway was to be built overhead, and they first requested that it instead be constructed below ground level. When the Highway Department refused this proposal, the residents decided that they did not need a freeway (May).

The PAC members discovered that Housing and Urban Development guidelines state that freeway noise is so objectionable that no mortgage money would be given to housing near freeways (May). The government and the residents had just poured time, money and energy into rebuilding and renewing the neighborhood, but now the value of the improved property would be lowered by the

construction of a freeway nearby.

After much lobbying, the PAC managed to get a highway moratorium bill passed. This was a big victory for the residents, but the land had already been cleared for the freeway and the residents had been relocated. The federal government refused to give the land back to the city. Before the neighborhood could do anything with the cleared land, it would have to be purchased by the city. The PAC did manage to change this decision and get the land back, but it took another six years. Several more years went by before the razed housing could be replaced.

The opposition to I-335 represents the neighborhood well. The halting of the freeway could only have come about in a neighborhood that had the stability and awareness of St. Anthony East.

Planners envisioned a beltway circling downtown and linking 35W and I-94, not far from East Hennepin Avenue. Residents of Beltrami and St. Anthony East and West envisioned staying put. They organized and went straight up the power structure of the time—Alderman Sivanich, Mayor Albert Hofstede, Congressman Don Fraser, Governor Wendell Anderson. And won. It's said to be the first time a residents' group stopped an interstate freeway anywhere in the country (Hage 77).

In spite of this, the freeway fight was a difficult one. "The fight to stop I-335 was long and dreary," said resident and neighborhood activist Jeanette May. Unlike Urban Renewal, with all of the tangible signs of change and progress—refurbished houses, new curbs, up-to-code electrical systems—the freeway fight was "hard and disheartening." Residents did not know whether or

not they would succeed in the end; after all their hard work, they might still have ended up with a freeway on their doorsteps. They did succeed however, and as strange as it may seem, the new housing along the intended I-335 corridor is a monument to the area's past. The new housing is the hard evidence of a community that feels the area belongs to them. This feeling of belonging, which is truly the heart of community, binds residents together.

Webster School

Also located on the site of the abandoned freeway is the new Webster School. The original Webster School was constructed in 1880 and was named for Daniel Webster. It was situated on the corner of Summer and Monroe. After attending Webster, students went on to Sheridan Junior high school and then off to Edison or to a vocational high school.

Although Webster School had much charm and character with the wooden staircase and the ornate carved balustrade, it was unsafe for children. The steam heat left the classrooms either boiling hot or icy cold and drafty (Special Collections C). The building was thought to be a fire hazard as early as the 1930s (May).

Even in the face of all these problems, the school was not replaced until 1976, and this was not accomplished without a fight. The neighborhood group that formed to address the issues of the Urban Renewal plan took on this problem as well. They went from door to door counting children because the school board did not believe that the neighborhood had enough school-age children to justify the construction of a new facility (May).

The residents emerged victorious once again; the new Webster School was built in 1976. The architects, Frederick Bentz/Milo Thompson & Associates Inc. received an honor award for the design of the building from the Minnesota Society of Architects. The design was one out of four from a field of eighty candidates to win an award.

This school was the first of four projects the Minneapolis School system planned to eliminate racially isolated facilities

and to strengthen the commitment towards a community school which serves the entire community. The building was planned with maximum flexibility due to shifting and declining numbers of elementary school children. The building was set up for team teaching in large open spaces, with spaces that could function as individual classrooms. The academic area could be closed off from the gymnasium, locker room and a multi-purpose room so these rooms could be used as a community facility.

The school continues to emphasize the importance of community. In 1995, a school mural painted by students incorporated symbols from several different cultures. This mural is another trace of the lasting immigrant heritage in St. Anthony East.

St. Anthony Park

St. Anthony Park occupies a space adjacent to Webster School. The neighborhood residents felt that a park was necessary so smaller children would have place to play without crossing busy Broadway Street to Logan Park. The small park offers a place for children to play that is close to home and easily accessible.

When the park was being landscaped, Jeanette May, who was one of the leaders in both Urban Renewal and the fight against I-335, requested that the park include a sliding hill for winter recreation. She came to St. Anthony East as a girl of eleven, and there had never been a place to sled in the neighborhood. However, the Board of Park Commissioners felt that the addition of a sliding hill was too great an expense.

However, Jeanette May was determined to have her hill. She decided that if they would not add a hill, she would see how quick they would be to take one away. She called everyone she could think of who was digging or doing construction. She told them that they could dump any dirt at one end of the park. In the end, it was cheaper to landscape the hill than to remove it. The sliding hill is now called "May Mountain" for its founder.

A Legend

The dandelions were thick in St. Anthony Park this year, and the residents of the neighborhood will tell you why. When Franklin Steele built the first sawmill at the falls of St. Anthony, he did so with the help of Ard Godfrey. Legend has it that it was Ard's wife, Harriet who first brought dandelions to the area. She missed the bright blooms that graced her homeland as heralds of summer. So, she sent for some seeds and planted them in her lawn. Each spring, residents of St. Anthony East curse Harriet Godfrey as they uproot the dandelions from their lawns.

Appendix A:

Housing in St. Anthony East

The housing demographics in St. Anthony East are unusual for the city of Minneapolis. An overwhelming seventy-nine percent of all housing is owner occupied. Not all of these homesteaded properties are single-family dwellings, however. Fifty-two percent of the structures in St. Anthony East are duplexes. Seventy percent of the two-family homes were constructed as large single family dwellings and later converted into space for two families as the average family size decreased.

Year Built	Single Family Homes	Duplexes	Multi-Unit Housing
Up to 1910	103	120	19
1911-1920	11	5	2
1921-1930	7	4	3
1931-1940	1	3	0
1941-1950	1	0	0
1951-1960	2	0	2
1961-1970	35	7	8
1971-1980	72	6	3
1981-1990	43	0	0
1990-Present	5	0	0

Statistics were provided by the Minneapolis Planning Department.

Interpretations

The above table gives the number of single family, duplex, and multi-unit structures built for each decade in St. Anthony East. Duplex is used here to refer to any two-unit structure. Multi-unit housing designates structures that contain three or more units. The table indicates the number of structures of a

given type, not the number of units.

Structures built before 1900 are given an approximate date of 1900 by the Minneapolis Planning Department. This accounts in part for the higher numbers of dwellings constructed pre-1910 because the period up to 1910 probably encompasses three or four decades of construction rather than just one. However, it is evident that even if the numbers were spread over four decades, the years from 1870-1910 would still have construction rates among the highest per decade.

Approximately forty-two percent of all housing structures were built in 1900 or earlier. Fifty-two percent of the housing was built before 1910. This is because the decades just before the turn of the century were the formative years of St. Anthony East. During this period, a neighborhood sprang up. As indicated by the table, construction continued to taper off until the 1960s with Urban renewal. Although St. Anthony East was spared from the usual policy of clearing and rebuilding large areas, spot clearance was implemented for structures that had deteriorated to the point that repair was not feasible. Urban Renewal continued into the 1970s. In the 1980s, there was a fair amount of construction as the homes that had been razed for the abandoned I-335 project were replaced.

Appendix B:

Recommendations for Further Research

A general history such as this lays the groundwork for more detailed and goal-oriented research. The area has a very complex history which intertwines many factors at the heart of the city's development. St. Anthony East was an active witness to the beginnings of industry in Minneapolis, continuous immigration, the development of the city park system and Urban renewal.

The complexity of this history makes it difficult to capture. Because of this, I recommend an intensive interview project. The interviews would supplement this history by providing a more detailed account of the neighborhood. Neighborhood history is best told by its own residents. The first and more obvious reason is that they are witnesses to it. The second reason is that residents have a much deeper insight into what is truly vital to the community.

A respondent to the 1995 St. Anthony East NRP Survey recommended that the neighborhood "...weave a tapestry." An interview based research project would allow the researcher to "weave a tapestry" of heritage and experience out of the voices of the community. Such a project would also increase community interest and involvement in the neighborhood's historiography. As indicated by the cases of Urban Renewal and I-335, this involvement is crucial to the success of any neighborhood endeavor.

The second recommendation I have concerns the SAENA's desire to have St. Anthony East declared an historic Neighborhood by the

City of Minneapolis and the State of Minnesota. With a housing stock that is approximately fifty-two percent 1900 or earlier, St. Anthony East may contain structures eligible for the *National Register of Historic Places*. I recommend a study of neighborhood structures. The point of departure for this study should be the nomination guidelines for the *National Register*. Because architectural significance is one of the categories for *National Register* nomination, this study should be conducted in conjunction with the ongoing architectural survey. However, the study should take other possible reasons for nomination into account as well.

John W. Lawrence, Dean of the School of Architecture at Tulane University said that "the basic purpose of preservation is not to arrest time, but to mediate sensitivity with the forces of change. It is to understand the present as a product of the past and a modifier of the future" (Maddex, Diane). Any preservation attempts in St. Anthony East should also take into account those things that have been preserved: the neighborhood school, houses where a freeway could be, and a sense of community. Realizing and understanding the importance of these monuments and passing them along in a form of preservation in itself.

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